THE TORTURED GERMAN PSYCHE: FREDERICK L. SCHUMAN

THE Nation

January 8, 1955
20¢

Mendès-France

Man on a Tightrope

by Fred Clarke

Meanings for the West

by J. Alvarez del Vayo

1955: Year of Decision

Shall We Revise The U. N. Charter?

Yes: *John Henry Merryman*

EVERY WEEK SINCE 1865

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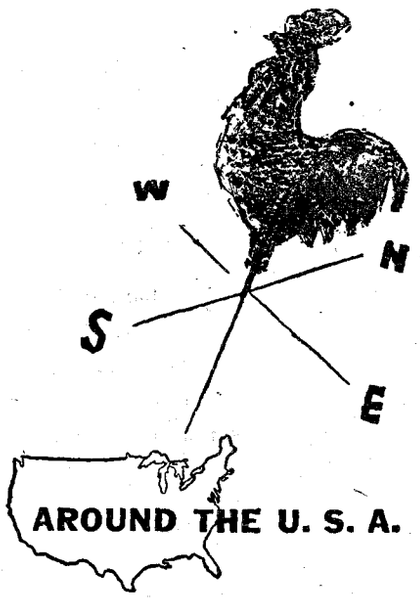

The Man with the Load on His Back

DANNY and Jean are a young married couple with two pre-school children. Recently they bought a house in Levittown, a Long Island community about twenty-five miles from New York City. Jean lists their monthly expenses thus:

Food (approx.)	$100.
Mortgage	69.
Car	49.95
Stone Front	22.
Storm Windows	12.
Life Insurance	8.
Electricity (approx.)	10.
Telephone (approx.)	10.
Oil (for fuel)	13.
Danny	40.
Miscellaneous	20.
Total	$365.95
Danny's regular take-home pay	$268.
Deficit	$97.95

The deficit is made up by overtime pay, and by the repair work Danny does in and around Levittown on his own. He is a TV service man, having learned the trade under the G. I. bill after leaving the navy.

Under Miscellaneous, $20, is included all expenditures for doctor, medicines, clothing, entertainment, and savings. They have a little over $100 in the bank, which they keep for what Jean calls "real" emergencies. Ordinary emergencies presumably have to wait their turn. Danny hasn't bought a new suit in five years, but fortunately neither his employer nor his work demands more than presentability. Jean hasn't bought a new dress or coat for nearly as long. Around the house she wears shorts or jeans.

They never go anywhere except for an occasional visit to Jean's family in the city. Danny's family lives too far away to visit. Drive-in movies were given up because the children grew restless. They have a TV set, of course. Jean reads an occasional novel, and Danny buys a home-mechanics magazine now and then. They have a Long Island paper delivered. They vote Democratic but are not otherwise politically active, although Jean broke with a neighbor who was strongly pro-McCarthy. Danny belongs to a union and thinks unions are necessary but that most union officials are in it "strictly for what they can get."

The telephone bill may seem rather high; Jean explains that her family and most of her friends live in the city, which makes calling them expensive. Danny's spare-time work also requires many phone calls.

The "stone front" item refers to the cast-stone facing which Danny was talked into buying. It was an utterly foolish extravagance and can be explained only on the ground that everyone makes an indefensibly foolish purchase at some time or other. For little more than the facing is costing him Danny could have put up a garage-workshop which he badly needs. Now it must wait.

The aluminum storm windows and doors were a more practical purchase; Jean says the drafts in winter were quite bad. And like the stone facing they are expected to save oil and so pay for themselves. Jean's uncle remarked once that he had seen plastic storm windows advertised for a dollar apiece, sheets of flexible plastic that one tacked over the windows. Danny said he wouldn't have such things on his house: "People would think I couldn't afford aluminum." "Well, as a matter of fact, you can't," Jean's uncle replied. Danny said, "We haven't missed any payments yet."

Not that he and Jean don't worry. They do. But as he says, he is caught. They had to have a place to live. They decided against a low-rent housing project, partly because they wanted to get out of the city altogether and partly because the rules wouldn't have let Danny set up a work bench in his apartment. His overtime is no longer as dependable as it used to be, but his spare-time work is holding up. He drives himself harder than is good for him, or for Jean and the children, who see little of him even on week-ends. Jean worries and feeds him extra vitamins. "It almost seems as if a man *had* to have two jobs nowadays; he can't make enough to support his family on just one. It doesn't seem right. And how long can he keep it up?"

So she can only shrug when her uncle asks what they would do if Danny should get sick, or lose his job, or a real slump should set in. "I guess we'd just have to manage somehow." They agree that they might lose the house, the car, everything. Especially if there were a real slump. But in that case, Danny feels, the government would step in. It would have to.

Jean's uncle finds this small comfort. He is a solid man in his fifties, a skilled mechanic; he remembers the depression and has a horror of going into debt. He once estimated that by the time Jean and Danny paid off their twenty-five-year mortgage they would have paid $19,800 for their house—whose advertised price was $8,790. "And no down payment for G. I.'s," Jean adds dryly. "Just a slight $325 to 'close the papers.'"

"If I can't pay cash I do without," her uncle says. In all fairness, he agrees that this principle is more easily lived up to after a man has acquired the bulk of his household goods. And he admits that Jean and Danny had to have a place to live, and that the house in Levittown, inadequate and overpriced though it is, is better for them all than two rooms in a Bronx tenement. Nevertheless, the amount of their debt and their lack of any real reserve, the hideously narrow margin, as he sees it, that separates them from disaster, trouble him anew each time he and Jean's aunt—invariably laden with gifts ranging from toys to canned hams—come for a visit.

He was rumbling away in his usual strain one recent Sunday when Jean exclaimed, "Oh, Uncle Jim, if the only people who ever bought anything were the ones who could afford to pay cash, you sure would have an awful depression in this country."

Her uncle grunted. "And what do you call that load Danny is carrying around on his back, prosperity?"

A lot of people in Washington and elsewhere apparently do.

THOMAS BELL

[*Thomas Bell is the author of "All Brides Are Beautiful" and other novels.*]

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Volume 180, Number 2
New York Saturday, January 8, 1955

THE Nation
EVERY WEEK SINCE 1865

EDITORIALS

The Paris Vote: Meanings for the West

BY J. ALVAREZ DEL VAYO

DECEMBER 30, 1954, may turn out to be a date that the world will long remember and that some Western enthusiasts of today will live to regret. On that day the French National Assembly approved by the narrow margin of 286 to 268 the agreement authorizing a West German army of initially twelve divisions. The word "initially" is mine; it does not appear in the text. On the contrary Washington, London, and Paris have done their best to convince those who are morally horrified and politically uneasy over the resurrection of a rearmed Germany that the heir to the *Reichswehr* and the *Wehrmacht* will be a nice little army, dangerous only to the Russians. In arguing this absurdity the leaders of the Atlantic coalition prove themselves to be either totally ignorant of history and politics—a scarcely plausible description of men like Churchill and Dulles—or so conscious of the enormity of what is being done that they are trying desperately to subdue the fears of the average citizen by pretending that this time the system of controls will work and that German aggressive power will be kept within bounds set by NATO.

As a genuine test of the people's will, the vote taken in Paris last Thursday had no significance. The spontaneous, "free" vote was cast the preceding Thursday, December 23, when by 280 to 259 the National Assembly voted down the West German rearmament provisions of the Paris treaties. In the seven days that intervened, France was subjected to greater public pressure by its major allies than any sovereign nation in recent history. What made the entire episode more fateful, more laden with grave meaning, was Britain's blunt and unqualified support of the United States in serving notice on the members of a national Parliament that either they must reverse their vote or Germany would be armed "even without France"—which in practical terms can be read "against France."

One can understand London's disappointment when the French Assembly voted down agreements to which Premier Mendès-France had subscribed and which were made possible only by Sir Anthony Eden's pledge that British armies would remain on the Continent—in itself a revolutionary commitment. But Britain has swallowed bitter pills in the past without displaying a fury so out of tune with the moderation and self-control that have always been the mark of its diplomacy. Britain addressed the same kind of threats to France that British leaders and the press, no more than six months ago, had so sharply criticized when uttered by Secretary Dulles. Between the editorial comments of the New York *Times* and the London *Times* there was hardly any difference. The *Daily Mail* attacked the French deputies, who were expressing very exactly the will of the people of France, with astonishing brutality. Even the usually sober and understanding *Manchester Guardian* reproached its Paris colleague *Le Monde* for arguing that it is not possible to lead a crusade for freedom and against communism with former officers of the Gestapo and soldiers of Fascist Spain in the vanguard.

This impressive unity between Washington and London is one of the most important developments of recent days. It not only wrecks any Russian illusion about the possibility of playing off one capital against the other, but it also deprives the world of the hope of a mediator. Sir Winston Churchill must be a great believer in the strategy of the *fait accompli* if he still clings to the project of a pilgrimage to Moscow. The idea of a high-level meeting, such as he suggested in his historic speech of May, 1953, has been emptied of substance.

THE situation has become too serious to make tolerable continued pious statements favoring coexistence and negotiation. Rearmament of Germany and coexistence are not compatible. A most experienced Western diplomat at the United Nations told me the other day, when the vote in the French National Assembly was absorbing everyone's attention: "Of course our statesmen act as they do simply because they are convinced that Russia, which for years now has been playing the card of peace, cannot march in Europe. But if Russia were to order its armies in East Germany to advance, we would quickly see what these Parliamentary ratifications amounted to. There would be not one Munich, but several. In the time of Munich there was not the deterrent of the atomic war."

Some of the words spoken during the long, painful debate in Paris should be remembered. It would be difficult for the most astute "label monger" to reject as inspired by Moscow the voice of the Gaullist deputy, General Adolph Aumeran. Referring to the United States and to the pressure exercised on France by the United

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The Nation, January 8, 1955. Volume 180, No. 2

The Nation, published weekly and copyright, 1955, in the U. S. A. by The Nation Company, 333 Sixth Avenue, New York 14, N. Y. Entered as second-class matter, December 13, 1879, at the Post Office of New York, N. Y., under the act of March 3, 1879. Advertising and Circulation representative for Continental Europe: Publicitas.

Subscription Prices: Domestic—One year $7; Two years $12; Three years $17. Additional postage per year: Foreign and Canadian $1.

Change of Address: Three weeks' notice is required for change of address, which cannot be made without the old address as well as the new.

Information to Libraries: The Nation is indexed in Readers' Guide to Periodical Literature, Book Review Digest, Index to Labor Articles, Public Affairs Information Service, Dramatic Index.

States, he shouted: "Are we going to permit a country inexperienced in foreign affairs to show France the way?" Neither could the patriotism of former Premier Edouard Herriot be questioned when, with extraordinary lucidity and visible reluctance, he took a stand against the Prime Minister of his own party. Previously a steadfast supporter of Mendès-France, he three times warned the Assembly during the debate that the West was committing its greatest blunder since the end of World War II. As the result of his courage and consistency, Herriot has emerged from the debate spiritually much stronger than Mendès-France, who in years could be his son.

Ironically, it was Guy Mollet, secretary general of the French Socialist Party, who shared with former Foreign Minister Robert Schuman the dubious honor of defending with ardor and conviction the ratification of the fateful treaty. Real Socialists all over the world will have to rest their hopes now with the German Socialist Party, the only one in Western Europe that is acting in the great tradition of Jean Jaurès. This, too, is an historic irony.

The Paris agreement was delivered by forceps and with the barest margin of survival. But once in existence it will draw strength from the massive forces that ordained it. One week before the voting Premier Mendès-France had declared that he "would consider a slim majority as bad as outright rejection." He knew that this would mean an actual, popular majority the other way. But however weak its support in the people, the treaty is there; the damage is done and will soon be evident to all who hope for peace.

The Shape of Things

Model Risk

Joseph Petersen, Jr., ousted employee of the National Security Agency, has just pleaded guilty to a charge of using government secrets "in a manner prejudicial to the safety and interests of the United States." Two aspects of the case invite comment. The admission by the Netherlands embassy that Mr. Petersen had been exchanging "secret intelligence" with its agents for some years should come as something of a shock to those who believe, and would have the rest of us believe, that the Soviet Union is the only nation interested in espionage.

But the case has a more significant aspect. Mr. Petersen is apparently the type of person who could pass the stiffest loyalty test as easily as Dr. Einstein could pass a college-entrance examination in mathematics. Born in New Orleans of respectable middle-class parents, he attended Loyola University and later did graduate work at St. Louis University. He had a fine record with the National Security Agency. Married, a surburbanite, he is described as "a mild, bespectacled man with graying hair" and a devout Catholic. There is no suggestion that

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he indulges in the dry martini or the manhattan, a fondness for either of which is nowadays regarded in Washington as presumptive evidence of unreliability. Nor is there any evidence that he contributed to the Spanish Loyalist cause or ever took part in "popular-front" or any other kind of politics. By all the current criteria he would appear the ideal civil servant, the model security risk. One might think that this frightening realization would jar some sense into the architects of security policies in Washington, but it probably won't.

The Unstable Dictator

Two developments have again brought Spain into the foreground of the news. American Protestants were shocked to learn that the Catholic hierarchy in Spain is demanding that any United States citizen stationed there under the recently concluded Spanish-American treaty must marry in accordance with Spanish Catholic regulations. This is typical of the hierarchy there, whose medieval leadership has defied even the Pope.

In historical perspective the second development is likely to prove of greater importance. For years Franco had refused to deal with Don Juan de Borbón, pretender to the Spanish throne; now the dictator has spent nine hours with Don Juan at the home of a prominent Monarchist near the Portuguese border discussing the question of the reinstatement of the monarchy. The meeting is indicative of the powerful pressures being exerted on Franco to settle the question of the succession. The pressure is particularly strong from the army; seven of ten generals now in command of important military regions are convinced that the time has come for the Caudillo to open the way to a regime more in accordance with Spain's traditions than the present fascist dictatorship.

Supporting the Monarchists among the military are Spain's wealthy classes—bankers, industrialists, landowners—all of whom are frightened lest Franco's removal, by natural or unnatural causes, will precipitate the country into anarchy. The new Monarchist drive started last October in Estoril, Portugal, home of Don Juan, when several thousand Spaniards traveled from Madrid to attend the début—a gala affair—of Don Juan's daughter. It has been gathering strength ever since.

Inside Spain the whole affair is seen as evidence of the increasing instability of Franco's position and as a herald of important events to come.

Death of a Daily

It is an unhappy task to say farewell to the Los Angeles *Daily News*. In the newspaper Sahara that is Los Angeles the *Daily News* represented at least a glimmer—on occasion it was even a glow—of liberal journalism. Founded as a tabloid by Cornelius Vanderbilt, Jr., in 1923, the *News* was soon taken over by Manchester Boddy, who later acquired the Los Angeles *Record* and merged it with the *News*. In its time the *Record* was a lively, freewheeling, ribald sheet which fought and won many good battles and kept the community highly entertained. Under Mr. Boddy the *News* limped along during the late 1920's but came into its own once the depression struck. A first-rate salesman of ideas, Mr. Boddy carried on debates with Lincoln Steffens and John Strachey and featured on the front page stories about technocracy, social credit, Upton Sinclair's EPIC (End Poverty in California), and the various pension movements. But later, with the demise of the New Deal, Mr. Boddy's enthusiasm for social panaceas abated and other hands took over. Last year former Representative Clinton D. McKinnon tried valiantly but unsuccessfully to save the paper and it has now been sold to the *Times-Mirror* Company and merged with the *Mirror*.

Not only is the demise of the *Daily News* a severe blow to a fine staff, but it leaves the melancholy Los Angeles newspaper field to the Chandler interests—the *Times* and the *Mirror*—and two Hearst papers, the *Herald-Express* and the *Examiner*. The *Mirror* is not likely to fill the need for at least one liberal daily in this great, rapidly growing metropolitan area which, surface appearances to the contrary, is predominantly liberal, pro-labor, and Democratic. May the existing enormous vacuum soon be filled.

The Ellis Case

Two years ago James R. Ellis, president of the Yonkers Committee for Peace, was denied the use of a school auditorium for a meeting of his organization. The Yonkers Board of Education, in denying the request, took the position that the proposed meeting was "controversial." But Yonkers school auditoriums have been open to meetings of other organizations, including all political parties. Is a Republican Party gathering less controversial than one on peace? Mr. Ellis, charging discrimination and violation of the right of freedom of speech and assembly, has brought the matter to the United States Supreme Court, where arguments were heard on October 18. The principle at stake induced New York City, which has a good many more school auditoriums to worry about than has Yonkers, to file a last-minute brief in behalf of the Yonkers board.

Mr. Ellis was represented by Emanuel Redfield, Associate Council for the New York Civil Liberties Union, who reminded the Supreme Court that it had never passed upon the question of free speech, "which is becoming recurrent." The case has another virtue, for the civil libertarian, in that it arises out of the arbitrary use of administrative power at local level. It is at this level that government-by-gag is most oppressive, most dangerous, and least publicized.

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Brandishing the Shillelagh

ALWAYS the good showman and often a sensitive weathervane of political trends in labor's ranks, Michael J. Quill, president of the Transport Workers Union, fired the unexpected proposal at the last C. I. O. convention that labor should give serious consideration to building "a truly independent political party" so that "workers will have the choice of expressing themselves separate and apart from any of the existing parties." In an article in the T. W. U. *Express,* Mr. Quill has since made it clear that he was not talking about a national third party which would nominate its own candidates for President and Vice-President but rather about a third party or movement which would "have something to say about the choice of nominees" for these and other offices.

Obviously Mr. Quill is irked by Tammany's high-handed selection of nominees, in the absence of a direct primary in New York, without reference to labor's preferences. Many another labor leader must resent the way in which the Democratic leadership sidetracked Franklin D. Roosevelt, Jr., in the last election. It is also obvious that Mr. Quill expresses a widespread concern in labor circles when he speaks of the danger that labor may become "just tail to the Democratic Party kite" and then goes on to say that American workers will never participate fully or enthusiastically in a party that fails to represent their wishes and interests on major issues. "I cannot ask Negro T. W. U. members," he writes, "to give their dollars . . . when those dollars may wind up supporting city, state, or Congressional candidates who stand for the denial of every basic civil and human right for the Negro people. . . . And I cannot ask T. W. U. members, whatever their race or religion, to volunteer their dollars to a party organization which governs fourteen states out of a total of seventeen which have adopted union-busting 'right-to-work' laws."

BUT one wonders whether Mr. Quill has not perhaps confused a basic problem, namely, the organization and education of workers for political action, with the secondary problem of instruments and vehicles. In his speech at the C. I. O. convention he made an admission that points to the fallacy in his argument. Of the early experience of the American Labor Party in New York he said: "Twice we gave 600,000 votes to Governor Lehman and to President Roosevelt. Through our inaction and because of the laziness of a great section of the labor movement in New York, that growing young fighting labor party slipped out of our hands into the hands of the left wing and into the hands of strangers where it didn't belong." In this instance, in other words, a third party did not succeed in overcoming political inertia on the part of labor, nor is there much reason to believe that the result would be different were the experiment to be repeated today. The plain fact is that too many workers, including wives, sisters, cousins, and aunts, admire candidates who do not represent labor's interests. The formation of a labor party is not *per se* an answer to this problem. By and large, labor has pretty consistently avoided facing its full implications by alternating between a policy of all-out expediency and wishful daydreams about miracle-producing "third parties" when the policy of expediency has failed to produce significant political dividends.

NOR does Mr. Quill suggest how labor can expect to win political victories without enlisting the support of "strangers"—that is, of voters who feel a degree of identification with labor but are not active members of labor organizations. An aversion to signing political "blank checks" is equally strong in other groups and among independent voters. If labor is to win the consistent support of its natural allies, then it must acquire the habit of working with them and of permitting them to share in the making of key decisions. It must also acquire the habit of speaking out on issues other than those in which its own special interests are directly affected. Independent voters are as much concerned with state sedition statutes as with state right-to-work laws. It is not enough to argue that because of its numerical strength labor's basic interests reflect, on many social and economic issues, the national interest. Somehow labor must go a step farther and convince those who would like to work with it politically that its leaders are capable of developing programs and policies to guide the nation as well as to protect labor. On this score a glance at the foreign-policy positions of some unions is enough to indicate the magnitude of the task of political self-education that confronts American workers. In or out of the Democratic Party, tail to a kite or a kite with tails, labor must still bargain with other groups over candidates and policies. That its strength in this bargaining process is today less than it should be does not argue the case for a third party so much as it points to the necessity for labor's doing a better job of political education and organization and of coming to a clearer understanding of its relations with other groups.

All the same, we are glad that Mr. Quill is waving his familiar shillelagh over the heads of the Democratic leaders. If nothing else it proves that Mike Quill is still a shrewd tactician. Labor should muffle its criticisms of the Democratic Party only in the brief season between nominations and elections. By the same token, the time for labor to assert its independence—the time to brandish the shillelagh—extends from November 3 until the next election. By speaking as he has, Mr. Quill has served notice on the leadership of the Democratic Party, particularly in New York, that labor's support is not to be taken for granted.

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MENDES-FRANCE

Man on a Tightrope . . . *by Fred Clarke*

Paris

"WHY Cao Bang? Why Dienbienphu? Why was our army, superior in men and matériel, vanquished in Indo-China? Because it was betrayed in Paris." The speaker was Jean Legendre, a dissident Gaullist deputy, opening the debate in the National Assembly on the scandal of the "leaks" in national defense. His accusation of treachery was shrewdly directed at François Mitterand, Minister of the Interior, and through him at Mendès-France.

Change the dramatis personae to Lattimore, Davies, Marshall, Acheson, and Truman, change the scene of the "treason plot" to Washington and the accusation to the "betrayal of China," and the full impact of the poisoned drama now unfolding in France comes home.

Legendre's charges were forcefully rebutted by Mitterand, Mendès-France, and others. But four days later, on December 9, there was a wild demonstration at a convention of "independent" deputies headed by former Premiers Antoine Pinay and Paul Reynaud. Government ministers were booed off the rostrum as "traitors." Then, on the night of December 10, M. Grousseaud, a colleague of Legendre's led off in the Assembly debate on government policy in North Africa with a similar ruthless attack on the present ministry.

> Never [he said] was a government more disastrous to the country; never have there been so many surrenders; never has the honor of the nation been so lightly sacrificed. Hanoi, Haiphong, the Indian trading posts—what triumphs! . . . Once we have left Tunisia, we shall be ready to lose Morocco and Algeria. To follow a policy of national abdication, you should be certain, Mr. President, that you represent the country and not rely on your pasteboard reputation. Have a care that they will not say to the school children of tomorrow: this Premier was named Mendès; he had another name also, but he was too small for it.

The government survived both tests; its majority, however, dropped from forty-seven to twenty-nine votes. Then came the series of votes on the ratification of the London and Paris agreements. On the first ballot, before the issue had been made one of confidence, the Premier was defeated; CBS correspondent David Schoenbrun ascribed the vote, which nearly scared President Eisenhower out of his golf game, to the Assembly's desire to "teach Mendès-France a lesson." In the end Mendès-France and the Western European Union were saved, but only by the narrowest of margins. The Premier's opponents now believe they can charge him with personal responsibility for a rearmed Germany as well as for treachery in Indo-China and weakness in North Africa.

At first sight, all this appears *une histoire de fous,* as the French say. As in the States, the first impression made by such "McCarthyism" is of irrationality. There are no big differences between Mendès-France and his opposition on the right. His regime has distinguished itself from its predecessors primarily by its style and pace. Where the others were bogged down in immobility, making procrastination and delay an art of government, Mendès-France has set dramatic deadlines and met them. His tireless activity—Geneva, London, Tunisia, Washington—the regular votes of confidence in Parliament, have made it seem that something was being achieved, and something was. But at the same time nothing was changed.

The Geneva agreement stopped a military and financial hemorrhage for France. It is possible, however, that had Bidault remained in office and been faced with Dulles's veto on direct American intervention in Indo-China, he too would eventually have concluded a truce with Vietminh. Since the truce, certainly, little in Mendès-France's Indo-China policy has marked it out from the pre-Geneva days and years. The situation in southern Vietnam is "rotting" as it was before in all Vietnam: incompetent and corrupt native officials are again digging into the pork barrel; feudal gangs are quarreling for power. And once again, as under Bidault, policy is made in Washington.

A cloud of suspicion hung over Mendès-France after the rejection of E. D. C. by the French National Assembly. It was rumored—unjustifiably—that he intended to break French dependence on American "diplomacy from strength" and seek a settlement with Russia on outstanding European differences. When he signed the Paris agreement and then submitted it for prompt ratification, he got back into the column of "good Europeans."

JUDGING from his speeches when a simple deputy, Mendès-France in power should have been the man of economic renovation. "In a strong government," he once confided to a friend, "I would rather be Minister of Finance than Premier." But since he took office his actual Finance Minister has been Edgar Faure, who has continued the dead-beat policy he pursued in the same post under the Laniel government. The plans to "remake France" drafted by a team of young economic experts at the behest of Mendès-France have been put on ice. There have been no substantial increases in wages, teachers are still underpaid, and low-cost government housing remains in the talking stage. Only the beet-growers, who had coined a fortune out of government support to alcohol, have come in for some punishment.

When Mendès-France took over last summer he was confronted by a North Africa in upheaval. Disappointed nationalists for whom French policy had been a mixture of broken promises and repression were turning to terrorism. Then came the lightning trip of the new

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Premier to Tunisia and his agreement to inaugurate drastic reforms; it seemed to augur a new deal for North Africa. But in a few months, under the powerful pressure of the North African lobby of French colonials—the equivalent of our "China lobby"—the government retreated. Accused in the Assembly of fostering eventual Tunisian independence, High Commissioner Fouchet, seconded by Mendès-France, declared: "Internal autonomy, yes; independence, no." M. Fouchet added that France "should and will remain in Africa" and had "no need of imitating Britain."

In Morocco and Algeria the policy is simply one of force. The incident which sparked the crisis in Morocco was Bidault's banishment of the Sultan in the summer of 1953 for his too marked sympathy with nationalism. The present regime has not even hinted at restoring him to his throne. In Algeria the government has outlawed the nationalist party, known as the Movement for Triumph of Democratic Liberties. Minister of the Interior Mitterand has boasted that through the "massive presence of troops . . . the mission of repression and, better, of pacification has been methodically fulfilled."

THE disillusionment of the left with Mendès-France is understandable. "There was no point to change the government, assuredly no point . . . ," runs the old French ditty quoted by Claude Bourdet, editor of *France-Observateur*. But why the bitter attacks of the right? Why their determination to overthrow the regime by any means, including McCarthyism?

Naturally, the political "dynasties" cannot forgive Mendès-France for ending their long monopoly of power. Their rancor is increased by the fact that after vigorously assailing them when he was in opposition he is now pursuing a policy not dissimilar from their own. It is less their policies than their reputations which have suffered—and nothing hurts a politician more. But beneath the personal feelings are real dilemmas which cleave through society like an ax.

In the last few years a big shift to the left has been preparing in French politics. The raging conflicts over Indo-China and E. D. C. brought it to the very threshold. Everything that is stagnant and standpat in France—the privileged groups and the special interests, aided mightily by the American State Department—has combined to bar the road to such a change. A threat when he first came to power, Mendès-France has now become for them a symbol of danger. It may not be in him but will come through him or because of him; it is potential if not actual. The constant smears and attacks are designed to discredit his "good works" and, above all, to cut off any turn to the left. The right does not want assurances or imitation from

Mendès-France

Mendès-France; it wants his head. Only then, with open and unabashed reaction in power, will it feel secure.

Ironically enough, the right thus far seems the chief beneficiary of the Indo-Chinese settlement which it so long resisted and even sabotaged. As the government it was paralyzed by the disintegrating effects of the *sale guerre*. Thrust into opposition, the right has recovered from its disarray during the Geneva conference and is now using that very settlement as the battering-ram against Mendès-France. The formula is so simple that it almost appears there was malice aforethought in allowing him to sign the armistice: liquidator of the French Empire, he is responsible for the loss of Indo-China and now, by his "softness," is preparing an even bigger disaster in North Africa.

This is not merely a cleverly contrived political campaign, although it is surely that. The powerful colonial interests were genuinely frightened by the repercussions on North Africa of Dienbienphu and then of Geneva. They trust in nothing but naked force. Their spokesmen in the National Assembly denounced the arrangements under which the fellaghas surrendered as a shameful capitulation to "bandits and highway robbers." A French judge at Oujda, where Moroccan nationalists were being tried for violence at demonstrations held in August, 1953, gave another grim illustration of the colonial psychology. Thirteen of forty-five persons locked in a cell two and a half by one and a half meters, had died of suffocation while awaiting trial. Defense attorneys remonstrated. "That there were deaths is of no concern to us," was the reply of the judge. The court then condemned fifteen to death, eleven to forced labor for life, eleven to a total of eighty-five years' forced labor, thirty-nine to a total of eighty years in prison.

Brutal in the colonies, this group is equally contemptuous of the Rights of Man in France itself. It was charged in the National Assembly that the inspiration behind Legendre was Jean-Louis Tixier-Vignancour, who as a minister in the Vichy regime was assigned to propaganda and to the purge of Jews from the film industry. In the investigation of the "leaks" he is chief counsel for Baranes, the dual agent whose testimony is being used to smear the government. Around such men are coalescing the Catholic M. R. P., a section of the Radicals, the motley "independents," and the dissident Gaullists.

ADHERENTS of the left, on the defensive for the first time since last summer, complain that they have been let down by Mendès-France himself. They say that his agreement to rearm the Bonn regime before negotiating with Russia may have allayed Washington's suspicions but has split the supporters who put him in power and saw him through the Geneva crisis. They say that his repudiation of the Communist vote while agreeing to the election of Martinaud-Deplat, a notorious reactionary and probably one of the instigators of the McCarthyite plot, as head of his own party, the Radical Socialists, has further weakened the left. They also reproach Mendès-France for defending only members of his official family in the Assembly's debate on the "leaks," while leaving in the lurch D'Astier de la Vigerie, a leftist deputy accused by Legendre of being the "pivot" of the "treason plot"; the editors of *France-Observateur*, whose offices have been raided and who have been summoned before the court investigating the "leaks"; and others. Is Mendès-France "unloading ballast," they ask, in order to save himself?

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The reform minister who does not break radically with the old regime, who does not mobilize the people for new efforts, who sacrifices some of his own troops to assuage his opponents, offers an easy mark for the sharpshooters of reaction. He becomes responsible for the failure of their policies, distrusted for not following his own, suspected of secret plans. Moderation toward his foes is taken as a sign of weakness—a sign to close in for the kill. Will this be the fate of Mendès-France?

Observers on the left predict two possible developments if the Premier continues along his present course. (1) Part of the present right, seeing no startling differences in policy and fearing that big upheavals would result from his overthrow, may decide, in view of the blessings Uncle Sam has given his government, to join him instead of fighting him. In that case he would become a kind of liberals' Ramsay MacDonald. (2) The McCarthyite forces, given their head, could unseat Mendès-France; but this might lead to a repetition of the events stemming from the famous Stavisky affair of 1934, when the fascist-type right wing, emboldened by its successes, lunged for power only to be confronted by a galvanized, united left in a movement known as Popular Front.

U. N. CHARTER REVISION

The Case in Favor . . . *by John Henry Merryman*

[*The United Nations Charter, signed at San Francisco in 1945, provides that in ten years member states should have opportunity to vote on whether they wanted to hold a "review conference" to discuss Charter revision. This is the year, then, of the great debate—a debate of such importance that both the partisans and the opponents of revision insist that at stake is nothing less than the continued existence of the U. N. as an effective world force.*

The United States government is on record as favoring a "review conference," though it has not committed itself to any specific proposals for revision. For the purpose of sounding American public opinion, a Senate subcommittee is planning extensive open hearings on the subject.

The Nation *opens its own debate with a presentation of the pro-revision side by John Henry Merryman, assistant professor of law at Stanford University, a member of the American Society of International Law and of the Academy of Political Science. Next week the anti-revision case will be argued by Merle Kling, associated professor of political science at Washington University. The letters' column of this journal is open to the many readers who, we are certain, will want to participate in this significant discussion.*—EDITORS THE NATION.]

HUMAN history is a chronicle of wars. Today the world is engaged in an arms race, politely called a balance of power. This arms race, like those in the past, will end in another war. This time civilization, as we know it, will end with it.

Eighty-five cents of every tax dollar paid by an American goes for past wars and to build our strength and the strength of our friends and allies in preparation for the next one. Perhaps wars, however costly, might be easier to justify if they could be won. But today nobody wins. However the war starts, whoever is to blame, everybody loses. The "winners" of World Wars I and II have had as their chief reward the job of rebuilding the shattered losers. Consider, for example, what we have found ourselves forced to do in Germany, Italy, and Japan.

The next war is going to be something special. Not just atom bombs but "improved" hydrogen bombs, cobalt bombs, and bacteriological weapons will be used. The next war is going to be a very personal one, in the sense that we will all be directly involved in it. Weapons of mass destruction will be used against civilians. Bombs will be dropped on American cities. And we will all lose, just as all the Danes, the French, the Chinese, the Russians, the Poles, the Nigerians, the Brazilians will lose. But since we have more to lose than many other peoples we will lose more.

Only a lunatic would advocate such a war. Certainly few Americans want it. But it is not up to Americans to decide whether we shall go to war. When the equivalent of Pearl Harbor happens we will have to go, whether we want to or not. It is only a question of time until some fanatic somewhere in the world acquires sufficient power to start World War III. When that happens the lights will again go out all over the world. This time they will stay out.

THERE is an alternative. It requires recognition of the fact, attested by sixty centuries of recorded human history, that as long as people have guns they will shoot at each other. Or in our terms, as long as nations have the means of waging war they will wage war. The problem is to take away the means. This requires disarmament.

We all recognize that life as we know it could not go on without law. We have had our experience in the past with lawlessness and with vigilante government. We have abandoned these at all levels, national, state, and local, in favor of laws enacted by a representative legislature, enforced by a controlled police, interpreted and applied by an impartial judiciary. But above the national level we do not have law and order. We have its only alternative, anarchy. It is the same condition which has existed among nations throughout history. As in the past it can only result in more wars. We delude ourselves with slogans about balances of power, collective security, coexistence, and the like. These are new names for the same old ideas, which

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have not worked in the past. They will not work now. Nations have been trying to prevent wars through alliances, powerful defenses, moralizing, for sixty centuries. These "solutions" are as inadequate today as they have always been.

If the world is to be at peace, disarmament must be universal and enforceable. In order to become, and stay, universal and enforceable it must be based on laws which are enforced by police and applied by courts. The political authority which enacts, enforces, and applies these laws must be separate from individual nations. In this way law and order of the sort which exists within nations can be substituted for the anarchy which now exists among them. World law can replace world chaos.

These ideas are not new or original. They are widely held. Most world leaders have expressed them at one time or another, people like Eisenhower, Churchill, Nehru, Romulo, Adenauer, De Gasperi, the Pope, and others. They are repeated here because the world is at a point in history where the mounting need for world law and the opportunity of achieving it are converging. The need and the opportunity are about to meet at a point in space and time; the place is the United Nations, the time 1955.

THE United Nations is an excellent organization, as far as it goes, but it is weak where it needs most to be strong. It is unable to maintain international peace and security because it has not been given the power to do so by the nations of the world. The thing to do with a good, but imperfect, organization is to improve it. The United Nations is the nearest thing the world has to a universal international organization and is therefore the logical place to begin working toward enforceable disarmament through world law.

When the Charter was drafted at San Francisco the world was still in the preatomic age. Secretary of State Dulles has said: "As one who was at San Francisco I can say with confidence that if the delegates there had known that the mysterious and immeasurable power of the atom would be available as a means of mass destruction, the provisions of the Charter dealing with disarmament and the regulation of armaments would have been far more emphatic and realistic." This means that today the Charter is preatomic. It must be brought up to date.

The nations which drafted the Charter in 1945 envisioned the possibility of revision. That is why they provided, in Article 109, for a general conference to be called to review the Charter in 1955. No nation can veto such a conference being held; all that is needed is a majority vote in the General Assembly and in the Security Council. The United States has officially announced it will favor the calling of the conference. With the exception of the Soviet bloc most other nations will so vote. It seems as nearly certain as is possible in human affairs that the conference will be held.

Plans exist for amending the Charter in order to make universal, enforceable disarmament possible. Although they differ in detail they agree that the area within which the United Nations will have expanded powers must be carefully circumscribed to prevent intervention in affairs of strictly national or local interest, or in matters not directly related to disarmament and arms control. They agree that there must be a Bill of Rights which protects individuals against unauthorized action by the United Nations but which does not attempt to alter in any way the relations of the individual with his own nation. They agree that subject to these limitations the veto must be abolished, the one-nation, one-vote principle must be altered to provide for weighted representation of nations according to their actual importance in world affairs, an independent inspectorate and police force must be established, the jurisdiction of the United Nations must be extended to individuals as well as states, and a court, perhaps the International Court of Justice, must be given compulsory jurisdiction to hear disputes and render binding decisions. Under this type of political authority it would be possible to halt further arms production and to establish a plan of gradual disarmament which would allow nations to absorb the social and economic shocks involved in converting to a non-military economy.

To date the United Nations has been most successful in its attacks on the economic and social problems of underdeveloped parts of the world. While this work is necessarily slow it goes directly to many of the causes of war and should not only be continued but increased. Meanwhile, however, the burden of armaments and the waste caused by armed destruction are themselves the source of urgent economic and social problems which can be solved by effective Charter revision. And at the same time peace, which is impossible without disarmament, becomes possible.

THERE is opposition to these ideas, both in the United States and in other parts of the world. The Soviet Union and its satellites oppose calling a Charter review conference, oppose any attempts to give the United Nations more power, and speak of the "principle of the unanimity of the great powers" (the veto) as fundamental to the continued effective existence of the organization. Since they cannot veto the calling of the conference they are using every propaganda device available to them to persuade other nations to oppose it. However, the Soviet Union will have an effective veto over any specific proposals adopted by the conference. It is therefore legitimate to ask if it is not futile to speak of Charter revision.

The question assumes something that may not be true; it assumes the Russians *will* veto conference proposals because they now say they will. But we have all had experience with the party line. We know that the Soviet position on questions of this type is not taken with reference to the merits but to the calculated effect that position may have on long-range foreign and domestic objectives.

That position may change at any time, because the part it plays in total Soviet policy necessarily varies. It is conceivable that the loud propaganda against Charter revision now emanating from Russia has as its sole objective the persuasion of free peoples to vote against calling the conference—a matter over which the Soviet Union has no veto. But when the conference is called, when the delegates are assembled before the eyes of the world, both within and without the Iron Curtain; when the chips are down and the delegates must be for or against specific proposals designed to prevent man destroying himself; then what will the party line be? What pressures will then be felt within Russia? Within the satellites which are being drained to build and maintain the Soviet war machine? Within the uncommitted

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part of the world Russia has been so eagerly wooing since World War II?

The point is: if we agree that a good idea should not be advanced at the conference because it might be unacceptable to the Kremlin we kill the good idea, we admit defeat in the battle for the minds of men, we strengthen the Russian position and drive despair deeper into the hearts of the subjugated behind the Iron Curtain. Now, while the world is debating Charter revision, we can alter the party line by creating a strong basis in world opinion—in the free world, the uncommitted world, and the Soviet bloc—in favor of it. The best way to do this is to advocate a program which promises the world peace. If enough people throughout the world are persuaded by these ideas, then the party line will have to change. But we must not play into the hands of Soviet propagandists by giving up without trying.

Suppose the conference is held, before all the world. Suppose hopeful solutions are advanced which might promise world peace. Suppose the Soviet Union vetoes them. What have we lost? We have not yet disarmed, or otherwise diminished our strength. We have not given up our alliances, or abandoned our friends. We have not diminished our world-wide war against poverty, disease, illiteracy. We have given up nothing. But have we not gained? Have we not added to the unrest behind the Iron Curtain and at the same time drawn closer to us the uncommitted nations of the world? Of course the Russian leaders oppose the conference. They do not want to have to reach the merits at a Charter review conference. They have too much to lose. But we have nothing to lose and much to gain.

OUTSIDE the Iron Curtain the strongest opposition to these ideas comes from a variety of organizations in the United States. Of these some are frank isolationists who want to withdraw from all the rest of the world. Others are "conservative" or "patriotic" groups which try to sell isolationism disguised as political conservatism or patriotism. It seems unnecessary to point out that in a world as closely interdependent and shrunken as this one, in which we keep bumping into and tripping over each other, isolation is impossible, even if it were wise.

The significant opposition comes from more responsible people who support the United Nations and who are internationalist in outlook. Their position is that we should not tamper with the United Nations, should not try to alter it by amending the Charter, should not "rock the boat." The Charter, they say, should be left alone and allowed to develop through interpretation; natural evolution is to them preferable to amendment. They point to the "dangers" involved in attempted revision: that the Soviet Union might withdraw, or that anti-United Nations forces might seize this opportunity to wreck the organization.

The thought appears to be that if we do nothing we cannot make a mistake. Actually this is not true. If we do nothing we do not maintain the status quo. The Charter is already pre-atomic. The world is changing, and if the Charter does not change with it it will become obsolete. There can be no more effective way to kill the United Nations than to oppose revision of the Charter to enable it to keep pace with the world. The tendency away from reliance on the United Nations in matters of international peace and security is already a strong one. Unless it is given power to deal with the problems of the atomic age the United Nations will atrophy and die, as the League of Nations died, from disuse. Those who profess to support the United Nations while crying "don't rock the boat" are, tragically, its most dangerous enemies.

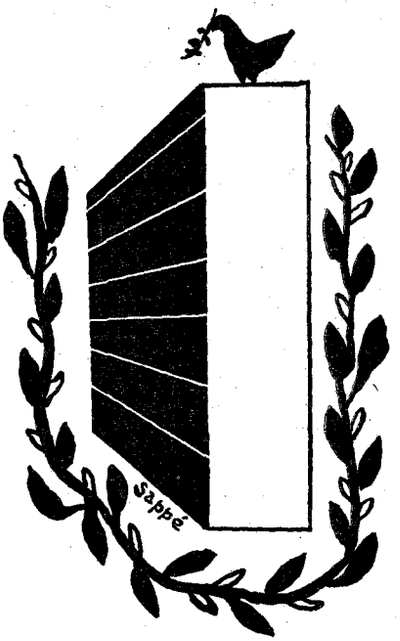
A WORD on realism. Those who cling to the familiar like to think of themselves as realistic, practical, hard-headed thinkers. In justifying their resistance to change they call those who advocate it impractical and unrealistic. Thus the proponents of Charter revision are said to "ignore the realities of international politics" and are accused of advancing "visionary schemes." But what is the program of these realists? It is maintenance of the status quo. It is perpetuation of international anarchy. It is continued reliance on the devices of traditional diplomacy, on balance of power, alliances, defense treaties, Maginot Lines, moralizing about "good" and "bad" nations; all the tired old clichés which have never worked. It is, in short, a proposal that we continue as we have done in the past. This is supposed to be realism. It is not. It is suicide.

It is unrealistic to suppose that a Charter-review conference will not be called in 1955. Other nations which attend that conference will present good ideas, constructive proposals, hopeful solutions. We cannot go to the conference table equipped with the paraphernalia of a tired and disillusioned diplomacy, repeating the worn and threadbare slogans of a pre-atomic approach to world affairs. Realism requires that we go to that conference with full recognition that we are discussing the fate of the world, knowing that the United States must play a prominent part in that discussion.

The Charter of the United Nations contains, in its preamble, the following words:

> We the peoples of the United Nations, determined to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war, which twice in our lifetime has brought untold sorrow to mankind, . . . to unite our strength to maintain international peace and security, and to insure, by the acceptance of principles and the institution of methods, that armed force shall not be used, save in the common interest, . . . have resolved to combine our efforts to accomplish these aims.

If these words are to mean what they say the Charter must be amended to give the United Nations the authority it requires to cope effectively with the problems of the Atomic Age. It is to our interest as individuals and as Americans to give it this authority.



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CHINESE IN THAILAND

A Problem for Bangkok . . . *by Muchi*

Bangkok, Thailand

IN CONSIDERING the critical situation in the countries of Southeast Asia one should always keep in mind their very large Chinese populations. In Malaya the Chinese form nearly 59 per cent of the entire population. Here in Thailand the percentage is smaller, but the Chinese probably control over 95 per cent of all private business, excluding the activities of a small number of Western firms. Indeed, there is hardly a town of any size in the whole peninsula—except Rangoon in Burma, where Indian shopkeepers predominate—in which the great majority of shops and business enterprises are not owned by Chinese. So one can easily imagine how these countries would be affected if China's Communist government succeeded in obtaining the loyalty of overseas Chinese.

Some factors hinder Peking's drawing the Thailand Chinese into the Communist fold and other factors are favorable. The Thai people are racially and linguistically first cousins to the Chinese but by no means identical with them. Moreover, since they came to their present home from southwestern China nearly a thousand years ago, the Thais have adopted the Indianized culture of Cambodia, which has accentuated their differences from the Chinese. Thailand and its neighbors never formed an integral part of the vast Chinese Empire, though the rulers used at one time to send embassies to Peking bearing presents which were accepted as tribute.

As far back as the Ming Dynasty (1368-1644) a steady stream of Chinese merchants and artisans began to flow into Thailand, and it has never ceased. Until quite recently the immigrants found themselves welcome, for with their higher standards of material comfort and their artistic ability they improved conditions among the local people. Even now, the palaces and temples of Thailand proudly flaunt the beautiful golden-yellow tiles which are the glory of the Forbidden City in Peking. Just as the British often justify their retention of Hongkong by pointing to the flourishing city that has risen on the site of a few poor fishing villages, so the Chinese may with a certain amount of justice claim that they acquired their economic hold on Thailand through having originated and built up most of the country's economic enterprises.

In the middle of the nineteenth century that asute ruler King Mongkut—who deserves to be better known in the West quite apart from "Anna and the King of Siam"—encouraged Chinese immigration on a large scale but stipulated that immigrants should not bring their women folk with them. Himself part Chinese, he admired the energy of the Chinese and hoped to introduce a more vigorous strain into the blood of his own people. Now, in addition to merchants and artisans, came hordes of half-starved Chinese laborers fleeing from hunger, cold, and maladministration at home—men willing to undertake the most menial tasks and to work hard and long in a fruitful, underpopulated land holding out infinite possibilities to them. Many realized their dreams; their descendants are wealthy and cultured men.

The total population of Thailand is around eighteen or nineteen million, of whom three or four million are said to be Chinese. It is impossible to arrive at reasonably accurate statistics owing to the frequency of intermarriage and to the fact that many offspring of mixed marriages claim to be Thai or Chinese according to circumstances. In the busiest areas of Bangkok, the only large city, Chinese is heard more frequently than Thai, and almost every shop has its name inscribed in beautiful Chinese characters. In other towns the percentage of Chinese is lower, but almost all shops are Chinese operated. Even in jungle hamlets the shopkeepers are generally Chinese. And until the Thai government took action, most of the banks, insurance companies, rice mills, and sawmills were Chinese owned and managed. In addition, the great majority of skilled and semi-skilled labor is Chinese—the builders, carpenters, painters, tile-makers, rice-millers, hotel servants, cooks, restaurant operators, and so on. Somebody once said that the Thais are a nation of government officials, Buddhist monks, and farmers, all other occupations being left to the Chinese. If we add that there are Thai doctors and lawyers and that the armed forces are of course Thai, that remark is close to the truth.

In both Chinese law and Chinese tradition the descendants of any Chinese male are considered Chinese. The Chinese language usually continues to be spoken in the home, Chinese religious and ceremonial customs are observed, and if possible the children and grandchildren are given a Chinese education. One of the reasons for the unpopularity of the Chinese is their unwillingness to be absorbed.

OF LATE the Thais, caught up in the current wave of nationalism, have laid aside their easy tolerance of the Chinese. They are asking in the press and the National Assembly why "aliens" should be permitted to "run the country," and the government is taking vigorous measures to limit Chinese enterprise.

Stated in their simplest form, Thai complaints against the Chinese are as follows: (1) Commerce and industry are the lifeblood of a country. It is dangerous and unprofitable to have almost the whole of private enterprise in the hands of aliens. (2) The Chinese are racially arrogant and exclusive. They cooperate with one another at the expense of the Thais and make it exceedingly difficult for the Thais to increase their small share in the commercial life of the

MUCHI is the pen name of a European writer living in Bangkok. This is the second of a series of articles on the large Chinese minorities in the countries of Southeast Asia.

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country; only government legislation can help. (3) In normal times the Chinese remit a great part of their income to their families in China; the loss of such huge sums is obviously detrimental to the economy of the country.

All of this is true, and one cannot help sympathizing with the Thais, but the question, like most others, has two sides. An intelligent young Chinese, born in Thailand and by no means biased against the Thais, recently expressed to me what he called "the point of view of the average educated Chinese." "One must understand," he said, "why the Chinese occupy their present position in the country's business life. It is not as if we had come as conquerors and taken over our vast interests by force. I assure you there was very little to take over. The Thais, having lived for generations in an immensely fertile, underpopulated country, have long been strangers to hunger and cold. The climate disinclines people to work and at the same time reduces man's needs to a minimum. Very little clothing is required; the simplest houses are sufficient protection against the weather; fuel is needed only for cooking. Under such conditions most personal possessions are pure luxuries, and the Thai religion has always frowned upon the possession of luxuries. So until they were affected by the competitive spirit from the West the Thais never cared much about wealth. If a man, by good fortune or a rare burst of energy, accumulated more money than he required for his immediate needs, he was apt to sit back and take a rest from his labors. Many of the old-fashioned Thais were gentlemen who enjoyed the tranquillity of leisure. To them industrial and commercial undertakings seemed undignified and unnecessary.

"But with our people it was always different. Our grandfathers came here as destitute refugees, knowing the pains of hunger and cold. They would work long hours for the tiniest profit, living meanwhile on plain rice and a little salt fish, so long as they could put something by for the future. We built up our enterprises by our own toil and sweat. And at that time we met with no competition from the Thais. They laughed good-naturedly to see us passing our lives in dreary toil under the hot sun.

"Now it is different. The Thais have awakened, stirred by the spirit of competition and the nationalistic pride they have got from the West. But they can hardly expect us to hand over voluntarily the fruits of our labor. Let the Thais meet us in fair competition. The dice are loaded in their favor by the current legislation. Yet, in spite of everything, very few of them can compete with us. Even the most anti-Chinese Thais employ Chinese laborers to build their houses, for example. Why? Because we can do the job better and more quickly.

"If we went back to China, taking our money with us, Thailand would be bankrupt. We have got to stay here. So we naturally want to keep our property."

THE Thai government is attempting to solve the problem by helping Thai nationals to play a more active part in economic life. Chinese immigration has been cut to a mere two hundred a year. More and more trades and professions are reserved for Thai nationals. Difficulties are being put in the way of "alien" banking and insurance companies. Certain enterprises are run by or under the auspices of the government for the benefit of Thai nationals. The alien residents' tax has suddenly been increased from 20 to 400 ticals a year (officially the tical is worth 8 cents); this is a severe burden on, for example, Chinese hawkers, who may not make as much as 400 ticals in a month. Most of the Chinese schools have been closed, and the few which continue are only permitted to teach Chinese as a foreign language, a few hours a week. Government officials, politicians, and school teachers speak of the necessity of combating the "alien menace" in a spirit of patriotism.

Up to the present these measures, except the restriction on Chinese immigration, have not achieved their objective, though they have made things more difficult for the Chinese. Various banking, insurance, and other companies have been registered under Thai names, but the Thais are often sleeping partners whose only duties are to appear at meetings and draw dividends. Other companies continue to be Chinese owned, but high police officers are included among the shareholders or "advisers" and in return provide a good deal of protection. In its most ambitious attempt to encourage Thai enterprise the government built a great avenue which it was hoped would become the capital's new commercial center; the shops along it were to be leased to Thai nationals only. Though some of the buildings have already reached the stage preliminary to collapse, the avenue is still almost deserted, far different from the Chinese shopping centers with their milling crowds and tangled traffic. (I once asked a nationalistic Thai why he patronized Chinese shops. He replied: "In a Thai shop, by the time they have gone through the complicated process of wrapping up my order, writing out a bill in triplicate, and counting out the change, I usually regret my purchase. Without exaggeration, this process sometimes takes as much as ten minutes.") And even on this all-Thai avenue the Thais who rented the new shops often sublet to Chinese or put in Chinese managers.

SO FAR only a few Chinese in Thailand have shown Communist leanings. The majority own their own business, are capitalists, and those who work for a daily wage are ambitious to become the owner of a stall which may one day become a shop and later a company with most of the shares in the hands of the original owner's family. With so little industry in Thailand there is nothing which could be called a proletariat in the Western sense. Almost every Chinese in Thailand believes that his prospects are better there under the system of individual enterprise than they would be in overpopulated, impoverished China, at least for many decades to come. Immediately after the overwhelming Communist successes in China, racial pride created a certain amount of carefully concealed sympathy for Peking. Since then letters received from families

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and clansmen in South China have caused the enthusiasm to wane. It is almost certain that the great majority of Chinese in Thailand would not favor the country's domination by Peking.

On the other hand, enthusiasm for Chiang Kai-shek is at very low ebb. Overseas Chinese have not forgotten that the Nationalist leaders, when at the height of their power, offered no concrete aid to their countrymen abroad though the latter many times demonstrated their loyalty with lavish contributions to the government's war chest.

Secret rejoicing over Communist China's ability to make itself felt in the world after a century of weakness will not in itself make Communists of the Chinese in Thailand. What would produce a rash of communism here and perhaps entirely undermine the position of the forces opposed to communism in this whole area would be a wrong handling of the Chinese problem by the Thai government. If legislation aimed at curbing Chinese activities, combined with further stirring up of racial feeling, made the Chinese feel that the day of opportunity for the individual had passed, they would surely turn toward Peking.

THE only real solution to the problem seems to be absorption. The Chinese, it is true, have resisted absorption in the past, but they might be less recalcitrant now that their loyalty to both the governments claiming to represent China is so much weakened. Unfortunately, the Thais no longer look very favorably on this solution. They are not only discriminating more and more against the Chinese as aliens but increasing the difficulties in the way of their naturalization. At present even a Chinese born and educated in Thailand cannot become a full citizen if his father was born in China. What the country needs is a settled policy based on the following principles: (1) restriction of immigration to be continued; (2) local-born Chinese to be offered every reasonable inducement to become Thai citizens; those who accept Thai citizenship and a Thai education to be treated in every way like other Thais; (3) increasing restrictions to be placed upon the activities of those Chinese who enjoy the benefits of living in Thailand but are unwilling to accept a citizen's responsibilities.

This is not a problem which can be disregarded, nor can it be solved without good-will and sympathetic understanding. Its neglect or any attempt to force a wrong solution would have very serious consequences, not only for Thailand, but for all Southeast Asia.

ANTI-RED OR ANTI-UNION?

That Boston Labor Probe . . *by Joe Hill*

Boston

IT IS no coincidence that the three unions which have been publicly investigated by the Massachusetts legislature in recent months were expelled from the C. I. O. nearly five years ago for "Communist domination." The legislative investigation has been conducted by a bipartisan "Special Commission on Communism, Subversive Activities, and Related Matters within the Commonwealth" created in September, 1953. The commission has made a few forays in the already well-investigated educational field but appears to have concentrated its attention on the labor movement. Last May it announced that it had found evidence of Communist activity in six unions within the state. So far, however, only three have been publicly investigated. The open hearings on each coincided with a crisis in its affairs and in one way or another served to further the interests of the employer or a rival union or both.

JOE HILL is the pen name of a Massachusetts writer who is active in the labor movement.

First on the Index was the independent United Electrical Workers (U. E.) which last fall made one of its periodic attempts to regain bargaining rights from Jim Carey's I. U. E. (C. I. O.) at the big General Electric plant in Lynn. (Carey is secretary-treasurer of the C. I. O.) Two weeks before the National Labor Relations Board election, McCarthy brought his one-man subcommittee to Boston, bullied a few G. E. workers belonging to both unions, and conferred *in camera* with the legislative commission. Several witnesses were immediately suspended by the company.

Five days before the election, on December 5, the commission announced that Carey had handed over the names of some 200 members of U. E. who he said were Communists or Communist sympathizers. After U. E. officers, on their own insistence, had replied to Carey's charges, the commission and G. E. piously told the public they were not trying to interfere with the election. On the day before the vote G. E. announced a new policy of suspending employees who refused to answer questions of an investigating group. The election went to I. U. E. by some 700 votes of more than 11,000 cast.

THE commission then moved into the insurance field. The 375 agents of the Boston Mutual Life Insurance Company had been represented since their organization in 1937, first, by the United Office and Professional Workers and then, after that union's expulsion from the C. I. O., by its successor, the Distributive, Processing, and Office Workers, which obtained temporary affiliation after an internal purge and contingent upon amalgamation with another C. I. O. affiliate. The contract of Local 1282, D. P. O. W. A., with Mutual expired last December 10, about the same time that the union's temporary C. I. O. affiliation ran out. Since then D. P. O. W. A. has effected the required merger and been received into the C. I. O. but without the Mutual employees.

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The expired Local 1282 contract provided high weekly guaranties and territorial protection for agents, arbitration of grievances, seniority rights, and a union shop, and was considered the best in the insurance industry. When negotiations bogged down, Frank Siegel, the local's president and business agent, tried to persuade various public officials to put pressure on Mutual to settle. State Senator John E. Powers of South Boston, Democratic leader and chairman of the commission's labor subcommittee, intervened in behalf of the union with Everett H. Lane, president of Mutual. Lane, in reply, suggested that the commission investigate Local 1282.

On February 15 the negotiating committee set a strike deadline for March 1. The next day the commission subpoenaed local leaders for a private hearing. Powers, who has strong labor support, protested that he did not know a strike had been called and had no desire to interfere in a labor dispute. Nevertheless, on February 25 a public hearing was held. A former business agent of the local who had been expelled for dual unionism and two members who had been disciplined testified as to Communist literature and "influence." Siegel invoked the Fifth Amendment when asked: "Do you think you were being honest with your membership when in your capacity as business agent you took orders from the Communist Party?"

Though the strike had been authorized by a vote of seven to one, it was now canceled, and the company withdrew recognition of the local. Its members split up into the C. I. O. and A. F. of L. insurance-workers' unions, with most of their leaders joining the latter, and on April 1 an N. L. R. B. election deadlocked the two, 185 all. The next day the company fired one of the leaders of the old union, and on April 13, two days before a runoff, informed its employees in writing that it had only "contempt" for the A. F. of L. union and would refuse to sign an arbitration clause with a union it didn't "respect." The C. I. O. won the runoff, 188 to 180.

The company now swung into action, threw out the contract, and forced the agents to accept individual agreements. The change in working conditions and commission practices was equivalent, the union claims, to an average weekly pay cut of $15. Siegel quit his post and went into private business. The N. L. R. B. found that the company had showed favoritism before the runoff and ordered a third election on November 1. This the A. F. of L. won, 183 to 132. The timely intervention of the commission had given the company the weapon it needed to confuse and divide its employees, break their militant union, destroy their contract, and cut their pay.

NEXT the commission turned its guns on the International Fur and Leather Workers, whose leather division contains 10,000 of the industry's highest-paid workers in 100 shops on the North Shore. In May, while I. F. L. W. U. Local 33 was negotiating for 1,500 workers at the A. C. Lawrence plant in Peabody, the A. F. of L. Butchers moved a raiding party into town. In July the A. F. of L. petitioned for an N. L. R. B. election, and the company suspended talks. Almost simultaneously the commission released testimony that Local 21, the largest in the division with 3,500 members, was Communist-dominated. John Silk, a former president of Local 21 who had resigned in 1947 in the face of dual-unionism charges, testified that Richard B. O'Keefe, the local's veteran business manager, George F. Markham, its educational director, and James Bollen, a former member of its education committee, had admitted to him they were Communists. The commission said it would hold public hearings on the charges in "two or three months."

On September 24 Professor W. W. Rostow of the Center for International Studies at Massachusetts Institute of Technology testified in open hearings that he believed the I. F. L. W. U. was Communist-dominated. He based his opinion on approximately one-third of the 100-odd resolutions the union had adopted at its four preceding conventions and on the fact that it had donated funds to Communist unions in Europe and to eighteen organizations on the Attorney General's list.

Markham, having invoked Article XII of the Massachusetts constitution when asked in executive session about past Communist affiliations, denounced the investigation and Rostow's opinions and resigned his union post under pressure. Bollen, who was no longer with the union, denied Silk's charges and also invoked Article XII. O'Keefe denied he had ever been a Communist; he said he "hated" communism and had led the opposition to the Progressive Party in his local in 1948. He insisted he had seen no evidence of Communist domination of the I. F. L. W. U. Asked how he squared this with the fact that he was the perennial chairman of the convention resolutions committee, O'Keefe admitted he "may have been duped." He concluded by praising the commission for its work.

Early in December O'Keefe popped up at the C. I. O. convention in Los Angeles, told cheering delegates that the fur division was the "hard core of communism in this country," and promised to bring 10,000 New England leather workers back into the fold in January. Concurrently, the executive boards of the I. F. L. W. U. and the apparently less squeamish Butchers were talking merger in Chicago, with the fur union slated to become an autonomous division of the Butchers and to retain its officers and $9,000,000 treasury.

Under the circumstances, these look like smart moves, since the I. F. L. W. U. was probably headed for hard times under the new Subversive Control Act. Both divisions would be immune to N. L. R. B. decertification under the new law, but they may have to pay the price in militancy if they expect to get the protection from persecution and prosecution which A. F. of L. and C. I. O. affiliation is supposed to afford.

There are signs that the commission is preparing to strike closer to the C. I. O. preserves. The tip-off came when the same Bollen who was questioned in connection with the I. F. L. W. U. was asked if he had engaged in Communist activity with one of the leaders of Local 11 of the C. I. O. Packinghouse Workers. Bollen is a shop steward at the Colonial Provision Company in Boston, where the Packinghouse Workers have been on strike.

Whether the commission has succeeded in exposing threats to the internal security of the Commonwealth is open to question. It has done an efficient job, however, of frightening and confusing workers whose greatest crime is the militancy often exhibited by a left-wing union. The legislature may or may not have had this aspect of the commission's activities in mind when it extended its life through next year.

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BOOKS

The Tortured German Psyche

FRAGEBOGEN. By Ernst von Salomon. Translated by Constantine FitzGibbon. Doubleday and Company. $6.

By Frederick L. Schuman

INVICTIS VICTI VICTURI. So read the inscription to the dead at the University of Munich after World War I. The terse Latin is best translated: "To the Unconquered from the Conquered Who Will Yet Conquer."

Few reflective spirits in the 1920's would have defended the Allied thesis of 1917: that the victory of the Second Reich would have meant the destruction of culture by the "Huns." Still fewer would now deny that the triumph of the Third Reich would have been precisely such a catastrophe. A great nation joyously embraced a sadistic fanaticism whose bedeviled disciples were sworn to annihilate all human relationships which give meaning to culture and to humanity itself.

We are today bent upon rearming a Fourth Reich to "defend civilization." To question the wisdom of this resolve is, in America at least, to become a "security risk." Yet everyone is obliged by the decision to ask himself anew why and how most Germans, bewitched by Hitler, once embarked upon the enslavement or massacre of most of their neighbors and found their souls by losing their minds.

This book, at once fascinating and frightful, furnishes data needful for an answer. Published in 1951, passionately praised and bitterly denounced, it has sold more than a quarter of a million copies in Germany. Its translation is a major literary and political event. Goronwy Rees of University College in Aberystwyth, Wales, comments in his Preface that the author is both a "man of action" and an "artist" who "can find complete satisfaction neither in art nor in action, and expresses in both the violence of his frustration." The work, in its evasion of responsibility, "is a piece of effrontery which only so brilliant a writer could have attempted with success." The book does not answer our question. But it is safe to say that the question will remain unanswerable until the inner meaning of this book can, somehow, be grasped.

I claim no understanding of the motives of this man or of the tortured German psyche which he typifies. I know that who understands all forgives all, and that there is no way of indicting a whole people. Yet the puzzle remains. This is autobiography, among the best ever written, and an absorbing work of "fiction" in the sense that it depicts scenes, analyzes characters, and reconstructs conversations of long ago in a fashion worthy of Thomas Mann or even of Dickens, Proust, or Dostoevsky. Its form is ironic. Its spirit is cynical. In 1945 the Allied Military Government required all Nazi suspects to fill out a questionnaire of 131 items. Salomon answers the questions in 525 pages. The result, far from being dull, is hypnotically moving and replete with exciting reminiscences, delicate nuances, superb "flashbacks," sparkling vignettes, and an elusive progression from nothing to nothing which reads like a tragic drama concerned with the ultimate mysteries of existence.

"ARYAN" Ernst von Salomon, born in Kiel in 1902, was an army cadet, too young to take part in World War I and too preoccupied in writing film scripts for UFA to take part in World War II, save for comical service in the Volkssturm in the last days of the débâcle. He professes great patriotism, and indifference to politics: "I have never voted." He is an intellectual and a novelist, highly civilized and deeply sensitive to love and sorrow. He is a bohemian and an epicurean. His "affair" with Majie in St. Jean-de-Luz is delicious. He is a neurotic, spending time in Dr. Querfeldt's sanitorium. He is a jailbird, having served time in Striegau—where he scratched a swastika on the wall on November 9, 1923—and, in 1945-46, in Kitzbühel, Natternberg, and Plattling. He is an adventurer, having served in the Freikorps in Silesia in 1919 among other freebooters whose nihilism has been lucidly portrayed by Robert L. G. Waite in "Vanguard of Nazism," where Salomon is often cited and quoted. He is also an assassin. He was an active participant in the plot to kill Walter Rathenau in 1922.

What accounting does he give? Everything and nothing. Although he never says so, he obviously abstained from joining the National Socialist Party for one reason only: his mistress, Ille, was Jewish. Neither he nor she had the slightest concern with the Nazi robbery and butchery of the Jews. Buchenwald and Ausschwitz are only "pictures," post-war, though he is too shrewd to repeat the fiction of German ignorance of these horrors. He denies that Rathenau was killed because he was a Jew. He blames and excuses his own anti-Semitism as "the foulest sort of corruption of which the conscience can conceive, the corruption that compels the individual to choose the lesser of two evils." Democracy? "I do not know what it is."

Hitler's magic, he concludes, was "the appeal of offering oneself as a sacrifice. That has invariably been the alternative to accepting responsibility and doing one's duty." "How could it come about that everyone was guilty, which means of course that no one was guilty?" In 1946 as in 1933 the options were "to behave like a fool or behave like a coward. Nothing had changed. They were worth the same. Their victory was valueless, as was our defeat. I was myself worthless." "Can anyone understand the Americans? Can anyone understand the Germans? Can anyone understand the world?"

Konrad Heiden subtitled his first biography of Hitler "Das Zeitalter der Verantwortungslosigkeit." Salomon's volume is grim testimony of the consequences of living in the "Epoch of Irresponsibility" and of wallowing in self-pity, fear, hate, cowardice, and escapism. These diseases are universal in our time. Germans merely enjoy the dishonor of having carried this pathology of a sick

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civilization to its logical conclusion. No people has more to teach us of these disorders. "Fragebogen" is a priceless clinical document. No people has shown itself to be more incapable of facing the issue posed by Caliban. Salomon himself has learned and forgotten nothing. No people has less to contribute to the defense of civilization against the barbarism within us all. Most Germans know this. If the rest of us do not, we may be forced to learn again the hard way. "All young people of good families!" recalls Salomon of the early years of Weimar. "And there they sat and discussed murder in cold blood, not just one murder, a whole series of murders. It's sinister and uncanny." It is.

A Fine Public Servant

THE LIFE AND TIMES OF A HAPPY LIBERAL. A Biography of Morris Llewellyn Cooke. By Kenneth E. Trombley. Harper and Brothers. $4.

By Stephen Raushenbush

THE hero of this book has long been Philadelphia's outstanding envoy to Washington. In addition he has served as liaison between the engineering profession and the public interest. In the process he became a distinguished public servant in many fields. Since the spirit that moves Mr. Cooke and the ability he displays are both basic social requirements in this day, the story of his struggles and success is important.

In approaching his job the author, a fellow-engineer, yielded to two temptations that might better have been resisted. The first was hero-worship. This is thoroughly understandable. Llewellyn Cooke has remarkable personal appeal and has led an extremely useful life. He has been able to cover wide circles of interest and service. He took with him everywhere a pragmatic willingness to try new ways and an engineer's interest in seeing that the gears of society meshed smoothly.

So, the author tells us, "this book was developed in the glow of the subject's irrepressible personality and soul-stirring inspiration." In consequence the picture at times fails to achieve roundness or to give adequate credit to all. Instead of being one man working with others who doubtless often disagreed with him violently, Mr. Cooke seems to wander by himself from cause to cause. The author also passes over the cultural influences that helped shape his subject. We are told of associations with Frederick W. Taylor, Brandeis, Frankfurter, Joseph Eastman, and others, but only one book is mentioned—"An American Citizen" by J. G. Brooks.

The other temptation to which the biographer yielded is indicated in the title, the desire to sell the idea that other men too can be happy although liberal. Actually, like other men, Mr. Cooke met with a succession of frustrations. That he was happy is as much related to his unusual competence and opportunities as to his liberalism. His slogan, "Never lick your wounds after defeat—get on to something constructive," is quoted, but the reader is never persuaded that defeat was deeply felt, as it certainly was.

THE story itself is full of interest. Here is the descendant of an old Pennsylvania family gaining from his work as an engineer a feeling about the hardship of workers' lives. Personal experience of the inefficiency of steel mills and publishing concerns, plus the influence of Taylor, led to creative activity in the field of scientific management. Then came the leap into public service with a reform administration in Philadelphia. Encounters with shady contractors, with the Vares, and finally with the local electric utility ended with Cooke's winning a million-dollar victory for the people in lower rates. The fight over Scott Nearing's ouster from the University of Pennsylvania led to a struggle for freedom of thinking in other colleges. During this period Cooke developed one of his major themes, that engineers owe some obligation to the public interest as well as to their clients.

The record of service piles up. Work with Hoover on the "Waste in Industry" study (clothing) led to work on converting the steel industry to the eight-hour day. In the 1920's came a report on giant power for Governor Pinchot and the beginning of an interest in rural electrification. In 1931 Governor Roosevelt appointed him to the New York State Power Authority and in 1935 he was reporting to President Roosevelt on the devastation in the Dust Bowl and devising remedies. That year Cooke became chief of the Rural Electrification Administration, using the agency to combat human erosion on the farms. In 1940 he and Philip Murray published their "Organized Labor and Production." When World War II came he went back to his World War I job of getting efficiency in shipbuilding, but soon he was off to Mexico to negotiate a price for the oil fields taken over by the government, and then off to Brazil on a combined good-will and procurement mission.

By 1950 he was chairman of the Water Resources Policy Commission for President Truman. It was in the conservation field that he made many of his greatest contributions and met with some of his major disappointments.

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The Role of American Jews

THE JEWS IN AMERICA: A HISTORY. By Rufus Learsi. World Publishing Company. $6.

By J. Milton Yinger

THE history of Jews in America cannot be written, as this timely and thoughtful book well shows, without careful attention to the world situation. This was as true in 1654, when twenty-three Jewish refugees from Portuguese Brazil landed in New Amsterdam, as it was in 1881 or 1933 or 1947.

Running through Mr. Learsi's book, rich with detail and commentary, is the story of the pull of two opposite forces. One is the continuing strong sense of community between Jews in America and their coreligionists abroad, a feeling rooted in religion and reinforced by crisis after crisis, from Inquisition to pogrom to genocide to war for a national homeland. Among American Jews this sense of community has expressed itself in continuous efforts to help their fellows abroad and to maintain their religious identity at home.

But the forces of absorption are also at work. If vicious persecution in Europe and patchwork discrimination in the United States, interacting with the sense of religious unity, have slowed the process of assimilation, they certainly have not stopped it. "Thus, by the mid-twentieth century the interpenetration of American Jewry with every area of the nation's life had become the outstanding fact about the community." Learsi does not, perhaps, document this last point fully enough. There is a danger that the detailed account of Jewish struggles, of Jewish successes and failures, will give a sense of separateness that is too sharp to be accurate. Having been brought up in small towns where there were no Jews—or if there were a few families, this was a matter of indifference to all—the reviewer finds it difficult to acquire the habit of identifying this or that person as a Jew. Since this probably duplicates the experience of a great many other Americans outside the metropolitan areas, it is a datum relevant to the question of assimilation.

Many of the patterns of European Jewry were functional adaptations to situations very different from those faced by Jews in the United States. Change was and is inevitable, as Learsi well shows. Efforts to establish a Jewish community in New York, for example, after the pattern of authority in the Old World, were bound to fail. And the continuing divisions among Jews—not, of course, without important cooperative activity—reflect the impact of a mobile, democratic society with free religious choice. "The social sources of denominationalism" are as influential among Jews as among Christians. In view of the recency of immigration—the great majority of Jews came to this country after 1881—and the cohesive effect of the crises faced by Jews, the really remarkable fact is the extent of their absorption. This has meant a reduction in their religious and cultural distinctiveness—a happy development to some but to Learsi unfortunate.

In the latter part of the book the author's admitted value stands come more prominently into play, particularly in his description of Zionism and the battle for Israel. This reviewer would have been better rewarded by an objective study of the period. Dramatic clarity is perhaps served, but history is somewhat obscured, by drawing issues too sharply, by designating the heroes and the villains of the piece without qualification.

All in all, this is a highly rewarding book, a substantial and artistic development of the theme: the role of American Jews in the world struggle for equality of treatment, a national home, and survival, and their vital place in the whole of American life.

J. MILTON YINGER is professor of sociology and anthropology at Oberlin College and co-author with George Eaton Simpson of "Racial and Cultural Minorities: An Analysis of Prejudice and Discrimination."

Theater

Harold Clurman

THE week before Christmas offered two new plays which have already closed and a revival of Barrie's "What Every Woman Knows" with Helen Hayes at the City Center.

Only one of the two new plays is worth a backward glance. "Portrait of a Lady," a stage adaptation by William Archibald of Henry James's novel, was, as everyone agreed, dramatically flaccid, tenuous, and without definite contour. No matter how it had been acted or staged, it was doomed to fail. Yet—and this is the only reason for my referring to it at this date—I was not entirely indifferent to it.

I was somehow pleased and, at odd moments, even moved to find myself in the presence of characters who had some dignity of demeanor, of dress, and of speech. I was glad to be reminded of a world where delicate issues of conscience were expressed in graceful language. People spoke softly and said even inconsequential things with refinement. This manner may often be enervating, but in view of the vulgar clamor, the stupid energy, of so much that is shown nowadays on the stage and heard in the streets, I am grateful for the importance which James's characters, even when presented through the medium of a hapless dramatization, give to their every gesture and reflection.

One character was trying to choose a worthy life; another was capable of love and self-sacrifice; the most trifling of the play's personages was sharp of wit and word. They all looked superb—it is true that sometimes one could not tell whether the actors were wearing Cecil Beaton's clothes or the clothes were wearing the actors; still, it is pleasant to see people look like stage figures—like people worth remark.

The play seemed to lack a story—that is, action and situation; yet the seeds of a grand story were there, a romantic story. The theater loses much of its attraction when its story aspect is neglected or abandoned. The painter Juan Gris, whose cubism was once deemed as "controversial" as Picasso's, used to beg his artistic mentor to assure him that his (Gris's) "experiments" were truly pictures. A painting, he felt for all his in-

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terest in abstraction, had to make a *picture*. In the same way, for all our modern appetite for psychology, atmosphere, and color, we yearn for a play to retain some element of the fabulous, to tell an entrancing story.

THERE is a good, old-fashioned story in Barrie's comedy "What Every Woman Knows." When the play was revived in 1946 by the American Repertory Theater —in which Eva Le Gallienne, miscast, gave a most engaging performance as the Comtesse de la Brière—some of the reviewers spoke almost disdainfully of Barrie's sentimentality. They forgot, these up-to-the-minute ignoramuses, that Barrie's sturdy sentimentality has outlasted the spurious realism of most contemporary examples of our ruggedness.

There is nothing wrong with sentimentality: it is one form of emphasis, one way of approaching and telling the truth, or at least a sufficient portion of the truth to be respected. Sentimentality is bad where there is not enough substantial matter in a play to sustain it. Just as romantic heroism is not only tolerable but enjoyable when the nature of an artist's talent proves that this trait really exists in him—through his story, his style, his mode of thinking and feeling—so sentimentality is sound where the artist seems to be able to live, function, and make sense with it. Such was the case with Barrie.

"What Every Woman Knows" is shrewdly contrived; it says something we recognize as valid; it has a pretty humor, magnetic good nature, and is a wonderful vehicle for a good acting company.

Helen Hayes plays it with abundant skill and sureness. Though she treats her part now with more detachment than she did in 1926, when she was more naively involved in it, she is still adorable. To see the play now is like receiving a nosegay in a dismal season.

Films

Robert Hatch

AND so, as the sun of another morning warms the golden walls of Verona, we take leave of this loveliest city of the Italian plain and of its noble families, who were taught a sad lesson by two star-crossed lovers and a meddling friar. We had come to see a play; perhaps we should not complain that we were shown a sumptuous travelogue.

There is no objection, from the point of view of entertainment, to filming "Romeo and Juliet" in the streets, palaces, and churches of the most beautiful cities in Italy. That way it makes a spectacular melodrama with erotic overtones and a catch at the heart. This J. Arthur Rank version, directed by Renato Castellani with taste and a fine appreciation of the architectural possibilities, is certainly better amusement than the Biblical screen circuses which it frequently resembles. But there is no use pretending that much of Shakespeare survives the panoramic opulence, and it is nonsense to say that this is what he would have done if he had had a camera. He might have concocted spectaculars, but he would not have made the mistake of stretching a compact stage play over a large part of Italy.

The defenders of the bard are forever checking new productions against the true word, weighing the cuts and deciding which transpositions and elisions are permissible. But liberties taken with the text—and in this "Romeo and Juliet" they are considerable and often puzzling —are not so deforming as liberties taken with Shakespeare's timing and spatial relationships. When you tamper with those, you are apt to lose the whole heart and spirit of the work. "Romeo and Juliet" is a great and true play, but it is a plausible one only when played at Shakespeare's pace and with his juxtapositions and transitions. The script which Castellani has used runs as smoothly as a piece of tape, but the contrasts are lost, the climaxes fail, and the dramatic action is so slowed up and thinned out by physical action—it takes time to get around the great chambers and through the narrow, terraced streets—that the tragedy collapses and is swept away in a visual flood. One comes from this very expensive picture grateful for a museum tour conducted with excellent discrimination, but without caring much whether the incidental narrative was "Romeo and Juliet" or "The Taming of the Shrew."

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In this context it is not very important to settle how good the performers were—certainly they were decorative, and that was most important. Susan Shentall, a new actress, played Juliet at a good school level. She spoke and moved with no errors and no distinction, seemed very healthy, and handled dirks and baleful potions as though she had no notion of the harm they could do. Laurence Harvey was too light of voice for Romeo—or any other Shakespearean hero; he seemed young and heedless, which is fine, but he also seemed trivial, which is not so good. Mervyn Johns, as that foolish man, Friar Laurence, gave perhaps the best performance. He made something quite moving out of the fellow's catastrophic good nature. Flora Robson seemed more a nanny than Shakespeare's Rabelaisian nurse, but the scissors were working prudishly on her part. Everyone else looked magnificent and behaved well. This "Romeo and Juliet" is a pretty thing.

INSPIRED by Ronald Searles's *Punch* drawings of small progressive-school horrors, "The Belles of St. Trinian's" is a screaming farce in which the participants scream rather more than the spectators. The producers have made the mistake of thinking that the idea was so good it required no execution. Alastair Sim plays two parts—headmistress of the school and that lady's bookmaker brother. Sim's talent does not extend to female impersonation—he is about as convincing as Charley's Aunt—and considering the number of funny women about the English studios, the stunt seems peculiarly pointless. In the second role he looks bored, which he unquestionably was. Joyce Grenfell, a policewoman masquerading as games mistress, throws herself with her usual gawkish determination into a typical Joyce Grenfell part. She has done it before with much better material. That is the whole trouble with "The Belles of St. Trinian's"—the English have done it often before ("Passport to Pimlico," "Tight Little Island," etc.) with much better material.

"TONIGHT'S THE NIGHT" seems a cynical attempt to exploit Barry Fitzgerald's notorious charm; it is a wicked waste of his talent. The legend that the Irish are a childish race of sweet-voiced drunkards and murderers attracts the British, but they should avoid it. It always betrays them into a show of sahib mentality. "Tonight's the Night" is a vulgarized recollection of "The Quiet Man," a picture which was not itself excessively refined. David Niven, Yvonne de Carlo, and a crowd of greasepaint Hibernians assist in the embarrassment.

Music

B. H. Haggin

PART of the pleasure in seeing the New York City Ballet's production of "The Nutcracker" again this year and seeing it a number of times came from the renewed experience of what was familiar: the beautifully imagined and executed Tchaikovsky score; the work of theater art beautifully imagined and executed to go with that score. There was variety even in this experience of the familiar: one heard and saw each time things one hadn't noticed the previous time. Last year, for example, I had been engrossed in Balanchine's new pas de deux for the Sugar Plum Fairy and Her Cavalier—the freshness and originality of the quietly lovely beginning of the supported adagio before its gradual crescendo of impassioned brilliance, and of the Fairy's solo variation with its quiet, almost casual intricacy; this year I became aware of the intricate counterpoint of the solo Marzipan Shepherdess and her companions. But one noticed also things that were new. In the Christmas party of the first act there were new and enriching details—in addition to the major contribution of Dollar's remarkable characterization of the at once sinister and benign Herr Drosselmayer (a point of interest at each performance was what fantastic shape his nose would have this time). And in the dream party of the second act there were new dancers in the leading roles.

As a matter of fact there were such changes of dancers also in September's repertory season, which I will say something about now. They resulted from the absence this year not only of Tallchief but of Mounsey; and so I saw Adams not only in "Scotch Symphony," in which she danced with a beautiful lyricism, but in the two performances of "The Prodigal Son," in which she achieved what my guest at the first performance—an actor and director—characterized as "the most antiseptic siren ever seen on the American stage" (but for John Martin, for whom a ballet comes to life when it is danced in by a former member of Ballet Theater, Adams's Siren made this the outstanding performance of "The Prodigal Son" in many a season; after which he could concede merit to Moncion—that is, characteristically, the merit of a newly acquired effectiveness in what actually was one of Moncion's less effective performances—less effective than his more controlled and contained performance later in the week). In "Swan Lake" too Mounsey's part in the Dance of the Little Swans lost its sharpness and clarity of outline when it was danced by even as lovely a dancer as Jillana. And when Jillana and d'Amboise danced "The Afternoon of a Faun" one discovered how many overtones of presence and expressive point LeClercq and Moncion had enriched the piece with. On the other hand Allegra Kent was an increasingly effective replacement for LeClercq in "The Four Temperaments." As for LeClercq's Swan Queen, its growth was evident, on the one occasion that I saw it, in the more detailed miming, the more assured and authoritative execution of the dance movements, the new smoothness and continuity, as well as assurance and authority, in the entire operation; but strangely enough—since LeClercq is one of the dancers who, the moment they step onto the stage, move in an aura of projected presence—she did not on this occasion create about her the aura in which the Swan Queen moves in this ballet.

But making her first entrance in "The Nutcracker" to receive and welcome the children and summon their entertainment, LeClercq radiated graciousness and warmth and pleasure in the situation; and so again when she appeared later for the grand pas de deux that is the climax of the entertainment. And

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here the powers of projection operated also in the dancing: in that quietly intricate solo variation she presented the movements in a way that let one see how wonderful they were. This she did the very first time in the role; and she also carried off the spectacular passages in the coda brilliantly. D'Amboise too, in his solo and the coda, executed his soaring leaps and dazzling entrechats with beautiful accuracy and grace, engaging good manners, and an appearance of effortlessness amusingly belied at one point by a sudden grim gritting of his teeth for a climactic series of turns. And together LeClercq and d'Amboise made the quiet beginning of the supported adagio very lovely that first time; but it took the additional weeks of practice and performance to achieve security and ease and brilliance in working together in the spins and lifts later in the dance.

Adams's Sugar Plum Fairy, on opening night, had loveliness and sweetness in the welcoming of the children and in the grand pas de deux, and lacked only the bravura needed for the coda. In this performance LeClercq was the Dewdrop in the Waltz of the Candy Flowers, and defined herself clearly and exquisitely in space in quiet progression across the stage. In subsequent performances Adams's Dewdrop had similar clarity of definition, which Jillana's, blurred at first, approximated later on. Fallis, alternating with high-powered Wilde, danced the Marzipan Shepherdess with suitable delicate charm. But Thomas produced nothing resembling Barnett's combination of dazzling speed, clarity, sharpness, and delicacy in the Dance of the Candy Canes.

I spoke of the pleasure from Tchaikovsky's score: it was of course the pleasure from this score as it was played by the orchestra under Barzin and Fiorato. But there was also the discomfort of hearing the solo flute and solo clarinet lag behind the rest of the orchestra in the overture; and an early performance conducted by Fiorato sounded as though he had taken over without rehearsal (his later performances had the integrated execution and tone this one lacked). All this apart from Barzin's fast tempo for the second-act pas de deux one night, and his slow tempo another night, which didn't bother the audience but must have been hell for the dancers.

PURPOSE OF THE RELIGIOUS ADVERTISEMENTS

Belief in God Robbed of Social Justice by Ancient Orthodoxy.—Social Justice overshadowed by "Righteousness."—Reversal of Emphasis Inevitable and Imperative.—Previous advertisements have emphasized that the Hebrew prophets preached a God of social justice (not socialism or communism), and that they were endorsed repeatedly by Jesus of Nazareth. But it is appalling to consider that when *Belief in God* came down from the hills of Palestine and entered the stream of World History, social justice faded from the religious pattern and was overshadowed by "righteousness."

That God requires righteousness is very familiar to all of us from childhood. We were all told, in forceful generalities, that God would punish us if we did not "do right". And yet, very few people, even today, know that the Hebrew prophets proclaimed a God of social and economic justice, and that the prophets were endorsed repeatedly by Jesus. All church people today—orthodox and liberal alike—are honest and sincere. The transformation of Belief in God from its earlier sense of social justice to a merely individual righteousness was accomplished in the far-away Past by orthodox authorities unknown to the masses of the laity today.

Return of Religious Emphasis to Social Justice Inevitable and Indispensable.—No reflection upon the sincerity of present-day church people is implied by the religious problem that has thus come to us from the far-away Past. Nevertheless, if the churches do not choose to follow the prophets and Jesus, and put social justice (not socialism or communism) at the foundation of their belief in God, they will inevitably invite disaster at a time when social problems are pressing upon us as never before, and when social consciousness is rapidly replacing the ancient rugged individualism of orthodoxy and Herbert Hoover.

It is impressive to look back into the hills of Palestine, and to study the great struggles which destroyed paganism and endowed the term "God" with social justice. But it is appalling to think how the insidious propaganda of "righteousness" has been so successful in banishing the sense of social justice from religion, and in reducing the highest concept of the human mind (i. e.,"God") to the state of conventional respectability with which it circulates in our churches, Sunday schools, law courts, colleges, current literature, etc.

Free Material Available.—A free circular is being sent out, upon request, giving additional information. Its title is, *Bulletin of Bible and Hebrew History.* If you have already seen it, please do not ask for another copy, because it is in short supply. But if you have not seen it, you may send a three-cent stamp to cover postage on one copy.

In Addition to Above Circular, Further Material in Preparation.—The title of the new circular is, *Restoration of Social Justice to Religious Belief.* It emphasizes that the process of restoration has already begun, and that these advertisements and circulars are intended to promote the process. The new material will not be ready for some time, however. But if you wish to have a copy, send an additional stamp at once, so as to be in line for it when ready. A request *not* accompanied by a three-cent stamp (or two three-cent stamps in case both circulars are desired) will necessarily bring no results. The great majority of those asking for the printed matter have carefully included postage. And please try not to confuse the two circulars; the first being, *Bulletin of Bible and Hebrew History,* already printed; and second, *Restoration of Social Justice to Religious Belief,* in preparation. You do not incur any responsibility (financial or otherwise) in requesting the printed matter.—L. Wallis, Box 73, Forest Hills, Long Island, N. Y.

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Letters

Let's Learn About Africa?

Dear Sirs: We have followed in your magazine several important articles on the African scene, especially those in your special issue of January 1 on colonialism. You are to be commended for your interest in these matters over a long period of time, when other American periodicals seem only now to be discovering Africa.

Our committee feels that the awakening American interest in African affairs can have a very significant effect upon that continent provided we use our power in an enlightened manner to the benefit of the emergent peoples rather than in support of the colonial powers and white supremacy. The American record on colonial affairs at the ninth session of the General Assembly of the United Nations was definitely not an enlightened one. Only after much persuasion did we agree to return to the committee on Southwest Africa. Aside from this reluctance our abstention on key votes regarding Morocco, Tunisia, Cyprus, and South Africa, coupled with the statements of our representatives, gave the clear impression that the United States was lining up on the side of the colonial powers. This is nothing short of tragic in a world struggle whose outcome will be determined far more by the sincerity of our allegiance to basic democratic principles than by our armed might.

We invite the support of all men who enjoy freedom and would like to see it extended to the dependent peoples of Africa and the world. Through our bi-monthly bulletin, *Africa Today*, a subscription to which costs $2 a year, we hope to develop an enlightened American opinion. It is published at our headquarters, 28 East Thirty-fifth Street, New York 16. GEORGE W. SHEPHERD, JR.,
Executive Director, American
New York Committee on Africa

The Sobell Case

Dear Sirs: On the eve of Thanksgiving Day, Morton Sobell, serving a thirty-year prison sentence following his conviction on charges arising out of the Rosenberg case, wrote to his wife, Helen: "This is the fifth Thanksgiving that marks my time in prison. And even though I am here on this barren rock I am grateful for ever so much. . . . I am grateful for all those who feel that I am worth saving. . . . I am thankful that our children are growing up into real people, like their mother. That a friend bore false witness against me, that a prosecutor betrayed the trust placed in him for his own selfish gain, that a politician fought to elevate himself on my shoulders, none of this can weaken my faith in unspoiled man, in his goodness of heart. . . ."

Dr. Harold C. Urey, after studying the trial transcript, stated: "Sobell's sentence of thirty years is completely out of line with any evidence of wrongdoing which the government was believed to present."

Will readers of *The Nation* join me in writing to James V. Bennett, Director of Prisons, Washington, D. C., demanding that Sobell be removed from Alcatraz, a fortress prison designed for uncontrollable desperadoes, to a federal prison near New York so that his mother and his devoted wife may visit him without incurring the crushing expense of a cross-continent trip.
Brooklyn MURIEL I. SYMINGTON

China Flood Victims

Dear Sirs: The Fellowship of Reconciliation has launched a campaign to induce President Eisenhower to make available a generous portion of America's surplus food to the victims of last summer's record-breaking floods in China, which inundated most of that country's vital rice bowl. The Fellowship is urging that local Food for China committees be organized. It does not want to see political conditions attached to the offer. It hopes not only that the mountains of food jamming America's storehouses may be drawn on to save the lives of hungry people but that in the process of giving we may discover a different approach to those who have been labeled our enemies than the bombs and other weapons with which we are so preoccupied. Headquarters of the Fellowship are at 21 Audubon Avenue, New York. ALFRED HASSLER
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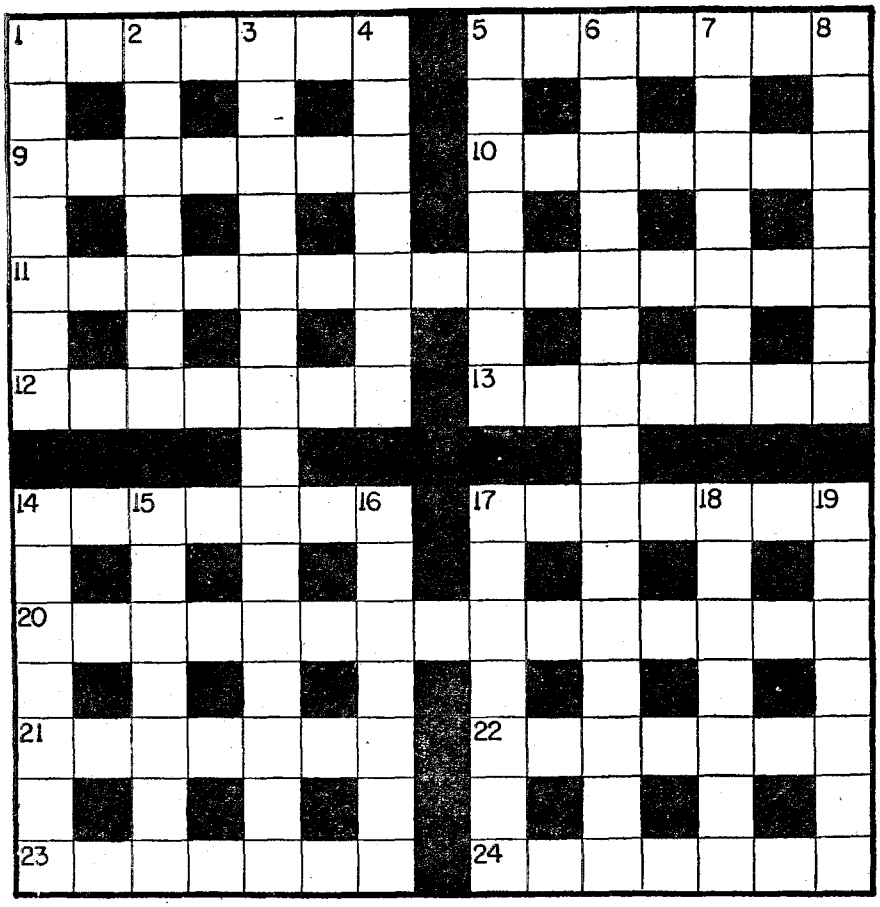
Crossword Puzzle No. 601

BY FRANK W. LEWIS



ACROSS

1 No I. C. C. in the London street for this sort of floater. (4, 3)
5 On guard in fencing? (7)
9 The maiden of the house of the head of 11 was all this. (7)
10 Camera shot to an expert, and a remedy for everything. (7)
11 Money in the thing that makes the paper, it seems, to be in the plant. (4–2–3–6)
12 "That – – – – – – mood, in which the burthen of the mystery . . . is lightened. (Wordsworth) (7)
13 Plunked down in Japan. (7)
14 Roomy? (7)
17 Dries up on horseback. (7)
20 It wouldn't be appropriate to find the U. N. O. and U. S. confused in where a Senator is supposed to be. (15)
21 To rise stiffly. (7)
22 Coward's lives? (7)
23 Abstracts. (7)
24 Mislead. (7)

DOWN

1 Is such a thrust forgotten? (Perhaps not by the receiver.) (4, 3)
2 A recoil of corselets. (7)
3 Not loveletters exhibited in court. (10, 5)
4 Indeed not! (7)
5 Seasons pelts. (7)
6 Study a problem touching husband-and-wife murder? (The job isn't bungled, by implication.) (10, 5)
7 Escapades? Take no notice! (7)
8 Mineral color, rather austere. (7)
14 Rose. (7)
15 Acting like Biblical wine? (7)
16 Do they put on fat? (7)
17 Archaic way of determining the one granting admission? (In a very loud voice, no doubt!) (7)
18 Red meal, stone-ground. (7)
19 Those who don't give a hang, might not. (7)

• • • • • • •

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 600

ACROSS:—1 INFINITESIMAL; 10 and 21 down OUT OF ORDER; 11 EBULLIENT; 12 INFURIATE; 13 MADAM; 14 CADDY MASTERS; 19 HEAVY DRAGOON; 22 LOINS; 24 TRICKSTER; 25 CHARIVARI; 26 IRENE; 27 MINOR PROPHETS.

DOWN:—2 NOTIFY; 3 INFIRMARY; 4 ICELANDER; 5 EXUDE; 6 ISLAM; 7 ABERDEEN; 8 DORIC; 9 ATOMISM; 15 MAGNIFICO; 16 STOCKFISH; 17 CHALICE; 18 BALI-BALI; 20 ATTEST; 23 SLIGO; 24 TRAMP.

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